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is insufficiently appreciated by Dr. Cunningham. It was more injurious, it is true, to continental than to English industry, and yet a study of its effects at home is not only instructive but necessary. The increase of the manufacturing output, the bad harvests, the Luddite riots, the storing of stock at home, the commercial depression, the stagnation of business, the complaints of merchants and manufacturers leading to the modification of the Orders in Council in 1809, the speculation attending the sudden opening of ports in 1809 and 1810, — all these things can be best appreciated in their relation to the commercial situation as defined by the continental blockade.

After so long and thorough a study of the history of industry and commerce, Dr. Cunningham's conclusions regarding many modern problems are worthy of attention. He decries the destruction of the forests (page 19); questions the stability of England's present prosperity (pages 25, 89); believes in trade unions (page 106); doubts the advisability of state interference except in a limited degree (pages 107, 237, 238); considers competition an evil, with indispensable advantages (page 141); is willing to believe in bimetallism, but doubts if a standard more stable and less fluctuating than gold can be arranged (page 148); does not recognize the desirability of giving every laborer "three acres and a cow" (pages 232-233) — though he says nothing of the "eternal salvation" which Archbishop Przluski added in his promise to the Polish peasantry in 1848; is willing to agree that while free-trade is necessary for England, it does not follow that it is the best policy at present for America (pages 245-246).

I have said nothing of Miss McArthur's share in the writing of this volume. It is impossible to determine from internal evidence what that share is. She will doubtless be content with the honor of having coöperated in the production of so clear and suggestive a book.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

*Die Sozialpolitischen Ideen Alexander Herzens.* Von DR. OTTO VON SPERBER. Leipzig, 1894.

A very suggestive illustration of the effects of political persecution upon the spread of proscribed ideas is presented by the fate of Alexander Herzen. For well-nigh forty years his name could not be mentioned in the Russian press. The censorship succeeded in completely excluding the works of the great writer from the knowledge of

the new generation of educated Russians. But his ideas have, through the influence of his disciples, permeated the whole Russian literature of the "post-emancipation" period. Since in Russia literature is the only avenue of public activity open to private citizens and therefore the only channel for the expression of public opinion, a close acquaintance with a writer of so wide an influence is indispensable to any one who would study the present political situation of that country.

It was through Herzen that the teachings of Robert Owen and the French "utopian" socialists of the first half of our century found their way into Russia. Confined originally to a small select circle in the capitals (St. Petersburg and Moscow), the new doctrine very soon made its appearance in broad daylight, and through Tchernyshevsky was given a national mould. With Herzen and Tchernyshevsky the philosophical problem of socialism was: How shall the free development of the personality of the individual be guaranteed in a society based upon the principle of communism? (page 90). After the banishment of Tchernyshevsky his teachings underwent somewhat of a process of differentiation. The individualist side of the question was espoused by Pissarev and his school, who became prominent under the name of Nihilists and derived their spiritual ancestry from Proudhon. The communistic tendency, on the other hand, brought forth a quasi-religious and essentially idealistic movement under the leadership of Peter Lavroff. In the subsequent course of evolution it shaped itself into "peasantism," to use Stepniak's term, whereas the individualistic tendencies of the Pissarev Nihilism can be traced under the mystic mantle of Count Leo Tolstoi's anarchism.

It will be seen from this brief outline that "the social and political ideas of Alexander Herzen" cannot be studied without relation to the political and intellectual development of Russia for the past half-century. For such a study, the author of the book under review unfortunately lacks the requisite qualifications. His acquaintance with the theories and history of socialism is derived from secondary sources, mostly opposed to socialism; one will search in vain through the vast mass of footnotes for a reference to a socialist author. Although familiar with the Russian language, Dr. Sperber has studied Russian conditions from Baltic-German authorities — the most one-sided of all foreign critics of Russia, because tainted at once with an ethnic bias and with an aristocratic prejudice against a democratic movement. Insufficient knowledge of modern Russian history and literature not infrequently leads the author into unpardonable

blunders, of which the following are examples : Among the "*Gesinnungsgenossen*" of Herzen and Belinsky, dreaming of "the federal-socialist republic of the future" (page 123), we meet Senkowski, who was in fact the chief literary sycophant of Czar Nicholas' régime, a writer venomous in his denunciations of all advanced thinkers of his day, from Pushkin to Belinsky. Katkov, the Anglomaniac and later the champion of bureaucratic centralization of the St. Petersburg Empire, is to Dr. Sperber "the leader of the Muscovite Slavophile party" (page 126). This merely repeats the common error of most of the European journalists, confounding the Slavophiles with the reactionary bureaucratic party; whereas in reality, the Slavophiles, with all their Muscovite "A. P. A.-ism," were a party opposed to bureaucratic centralization and sincerely attached to the principles of popular self-government. No better luck has Dr. Sperber with Bakunin. A German writer is expected to be sufficiently posted on the history of the revolution of 1848 to know that "the instigation of senseless conspiracies which Bakunin expiated by exile to Siberia" (page 130), was nothing but his dictatorship in the Dresden uprising. Arrested by the royal Saxon government and delivered to Austria, he was extradited by the latter to Russia and kept a prisoner in the Peter-Paul fortress at the precise time when, according to Dr. Sperber, he was in company with Herzen, Louis Blanc, Mazzini, Carl Schurz and other political exiles who sought refuge in London after the shipwreck of 1848 (page 26).

These are, however, minor errors when compared with such unfortunate remarks as that on "the aversion of the Russian people from so important a factor of economic life as agriculture" (pages 116, 117). One at all familiar with the Russian literature on the subject feels eager to know the authority for an opinion so strangely at variance with the accepted theory, that the whole complex of ideas, religious, political and economic, which dominates the peasant mind, springs from "the power of the earth" (*cf.* Pleb Ovspensky). The authority in question turns out to be the late Michael Katkoff, who, in an editorial in the *Moskovskiya Vedomosti* (*Moscow Record*) of 1865, holds the village community responsible for the "laziness" and "intemperance" of the Russian peasantry. One might as well take for authority on the present negro question an utterance of Robert Toombs in 1860.

This lack of accuracy entirely vitiates that part of the monograph which treats of the later period in Herzen's career, when, if we are to follow our author, Herzen's influence upon Russian society gave

way to the vigorous onslaught of Katkoff. In reality, however, while it is true that Herzen's personal influence began to wane in his declining years, it was due to anything but the philippics of Katkoff. How insignificant was the influence of this "*bedeutender Vertreter des russischen Nationalismus*" (page 116) everywhere save in governmental circles, appears from the fact that his were throughout the reign of Alexander II the only conservative periodicals, whereas a score of widely circulating and popular publications stood open to the disciples of Herzen, until finally the political and economic ideas of the latter gained universal acceptance in the press, — a fact of which ample proof is furnished by Dr. Sperber himself. Thus Herzen's ideas on the relation of the individual to society (pages 39, 40) and on law (pages 66–68), his skepticism with regard to representative government and "the utopia of popular sovereignty in a democracy" (pages 61, 64, 68), his opposition to politics (pages 77, 79), found their echo in the Pissarev school of Nihilism and, through the literary influence of that school, held full sway over the minds of Young Russia until the setback given by the political movement of the *Narodnaya Volya* (*The Will of the People*), 1878–1881. Herzen's views on the Russian village community as the bulwark against the development of capitalism and of a proletariat class (pages 88, 89, 102), have become the corner-stone of "peasantism," and, although refuted by the recent economic development of Russia, are still obstinately adhered to by all economic writers and by the whole press of the country.

While thus the critical part of Dr. Sperber's monograph must be considered a failure, full credit is due to him for the conscientious manner in which the ideas of Herzen are summed up in his compilation. As only a few of Herzen's works are translated into French or German, Dr. Sperber's monograph will serve a useful purpose and prove of considerable help to the foreign student of modern Russia who is acquainted with the works of Leroy-Beaulieu, Alphonse Thun, Plechanov and Stepniak.

I. A. HOURWICH.

*L'Agriculture aux États-Unis.* Par E. LEVASSEUR. Paris, 1894. — 492 pp.

It is easy to read Professor Levasseur's treatise on American agriculture without giving due credit to its eminent author. The style and method are so clear and simple, and the matter is so much the subject of vague every-day knowledge, that the casual reader may